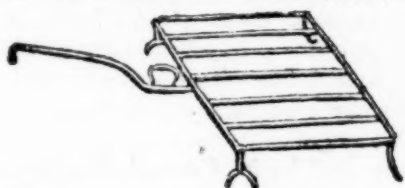


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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An hypocrite with his mouth destroyeth his neighbour; but through knowledge shall the just be delivered.—PROVERBS, xi. 9.

Giving heed to seducing spirits; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their consciences seared with a hot iron.—1 TIM. iv. 1, 2.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER;

And particularly to those who have petitioned for the abolition of Negro-Slavery.

Fairford, Gloucestershire, 17th June, 1830.

MY FRIENDS,

IT is now much about forty years since a new sect arose, calling themselves in England, "the friends of humanity," and in France, the "friends of the blacks," or, in their language, "les amis des noirs." These latter sent out from the first "national assembly," two agents to the great, the rich and happy colony of SAINT DOMINGO, where they caused in one single year more destruction of human life, more human misery, than had ever been before experienced in the whole of the West India islands, from the time of their discovery by Columbus up to the day when these two "philanthropic" monsters landed upon the island, which they, in fact, rendered useless to France, and made a scene of desolation which it has, with little intermission, continued from that day to this. Our "friends of humanity" have not yet accomplished this end with regard to JAMAICA and our other West India colonies; but they are in a fair way to do this, or to do something still more injurious to England; drive the colonies to seek protection in

the arms of the United States, which would assuredly be the result, if the people of England, the really humane people of England, shall continue to be the dupes of these deceivers, and shall, by their clamours, urge on the Government so to annoy and injure the colonists as to compel them, for their self-preservation, to become citizens of that great naval state across the Atlantic, which, in spite of England, and partly owing to the mischievous proceedings of these NEGRO-LOVERS in England, is about to become, in fact, the predominating power in that part of the world.

It is with the desire of withdrawing you, my friends, from giving your aid in this work of multifarious mischief; this work of private injustice and cruelty; and, if the possession of the colonies be a good, of public injury enormous; that I tender you the facts and the reasoning that I am about to lay before you. But before I proceed further, let me observe how *I myself stand* as to consistency as to former opinions, and as to experience, with regard to this matter.

The blacks in our colonies are slaves, and I being an enemy to slavery in England, ought, the deceivers will say, to be an enemy to slavery, and every thing going by that name, in the West Indies, and in every other part of the world. A lazy English fellow, whom I had set to dig some ground one day, and whom I reproached for his laziness, replied by saying, "I thought you were a friend of the poor"; "Yes," said I, "but not a friend of rogues; and you are a real rogue, who are cheating me out of the wages I give you." "I thought this was a free country," said a Paddy, well stuffed with beef, to his master in Long Island, when the latter, who had set him to hoeing corn, came and kicked him up in the long grass under the fence. "Yes," said the master, "but not free for you to rob me." So that we are, at the very outset, to take care how we are deceived by mere sounds; by mere words; by mere noise.

Yes, but the *blacks* are *flogged* by their masters. And are there *no whites* *flogged* by their masters? Come, come! do not hesitate, "MASSA WILBY"; do not hesitate, BROUGHAM; do not mumble, humane Buxton; is there not a little *back-tickling* that enters into your "*prison discipline*," of which you so recently boasted?

MASSA. Ah! but that is quite another thing: those are *malefactors*; those to whom my humane friend Buxton allots that "*discipline*" that my friend Brougham so justly extols, as a proof of our love for the *white people of England*, are *criminals*, mind that!

BUXTON. Yes, we prove our love for the *good whites* by our "*discipline*" on the *bad whites*.

BROUGHAM. What! is this *adviser of young men*, this *poor man's friend*, this *hater of public robbers*; is he the advocate of *private robbers*!

ALL THREE. What! is he the partisan of *felons*; is he the defender of.....

COBBETT. Stop, stop! Stop your mouths for a moment! Do you know of no *other whites* that are *flogged*? Do you know of no "*fine fellows*," in *red coats* and *blue jackets* that are...

BROUGH. (*Aside*). Ah! curse him!

COBBETT (*Continuing all the while*). Now and then *flogged*, and pretty soundly too?

MASSA and BUX. Hah, ah, heh, high, a, hum.....

BROUGH. Yes, yes, Cobbett, but, then, then, then, as you must know, when the "*fine fellows*" and the "*gallant tars*" are *flogged*, it is for some *offence*, Cobbett; you *must* know, and you *do* know that.

COBBETT. Yes, I do know it well: I know that they are not *flogged* for *nothing*.

BROUGH. Very well, then; very well, then; that makes *all the difference*.

COBBETT. What difference, babbler? The "*fine fellows*" and the "*gallant tars*" are *flogged* for *neglect of duty*, for *disobedience of orders*, for *insolence to their officers or their serjeants or corporals or other superiors*; for which offences I myself have seen *hundreds* of men *flogged*; and are not the Negroes

flogged for just the same, or exactly similar offences?

BROUGH. Heh, ah, heh, um, um, um.....

MASSA and BUX. O ho! but you overlook a *most important distinction*: the "*fine fellows*" and the "*gallant tars*" *enter voluntarily* into the service; they.....

BROUGH. (*Aside*). Curse their tongues!

MASSA and BUX. (*Continuing*). They are not taken *by force* and dragged away from their aged parents, the wives of their bosoms, their tender babes, their broken-hearted and delicate sweethearts.

[*They weep.*]

COBBETT. What! are not *pressed sailors* and *militia soldiers* forced away from *their* aged parents, *their* wives and children, *their* sweethearts? And where is the distinction, in this respect, except that these are *white* and those are *black*? That these have the feelings belonging to civilised life, and that the blacks have not? And have you not seen even *local militia-men* *flogged* in the heart of England, under a guard of German..

BROUGH. (*Aside*). Ah! curse him! I thought they would lead him to *that*!

COBBETT (*Continuing*). Bayonets? And have you not seen a man *put two years into a felon's gaol*, pay a fine to the King of *a thousand pounds*, and held in *heavy bonds for seven years*, for expressing his abhorrence of *that flogging*; and did either of you ever open your humane lips upon the subject?

BROUGH. But sailors and militia-men are compelled to serve and to submit to discipline for the safety, peace, and prosperity of the kingdom, and the *law* authorising their being thus compelled.

COBBETT. Who says it doesn't? Who says it's *wrong* to compel them? But are not the Negroes compelled to work and submit to discipline for the safety, peace, and prosperity of Jamaica, for instance; and does not the *law* there authorise their being thus compelled?

MASSA. Only think of the dreadful *whip*!

COB. Only think of the dreadful *cat*!

BROUGH. But the cat is not laid on without a *trial*?

COB. Very true: the *superiors* judge

of the propriety of laying on the cat; and I do not say they judge *unjustly*; but do not the superiors of the Negroes judge in their case? Aye, and if you were to *meddle* in the *former case*, as you do in the latter, you would find a law of *libel* that would teach you to keep your tongues within your teeth; and if that SMITH, the Comptroller of Customs in Jamaica, whom we shall see on the stage by and by, had done in the former case that which he has done in the latter, he would have found the punishment of *death* provided for him by an Act *which all the saints supported*; and.....

[While Cobbett is talking they all slip out.]

Now, my friends, deceived people, who have your best feelings perverted. you see that there is nothing in the mere *names*, in the mere words, when they come to be looked into with the eye of *common sense*. Taking that common sense for our guide, let us first inquire *Whether the West India Colonies can be carried on without Negro-slavery*; and, next, *whether this state of slavery be really kept up by the means of cruelty*. These are the two great questions that we have to answer to ourselves, and in answering the last of which we shall see, upon inquiry, that the falsehoods and the calumnies of the "friends of the blacks" are the basest and the blackest to be found in the records of human depravity. But before I come to these questions, I think it right to state a few facts relative to my own *former opinions*, and my *experience* as to this subject.

I make great allowance for *your* errors as to this matter, because I was, with regard to it, once most grossly *deceived myself*; and I was, as you will see, a little more in *earnest* about it than the *canters* are. Since I have been a *writer*, I have always *opposed the canters*; but I *acted* in my narrow sphere before I became a writer. The canting, or, rather, the madness for the blacks, began in England about the year 1790. I was in England in the fall of 1791, and was married here early in February 1792. I was about two months

in London; and some one led me to spend two or three evenings in the week at *Coachmakers' Hall*, where there was a *debating society*, that held its regular sittings. The "*cruelties* of the Slave Trade" was the standing subject; it was the *fashionable cant* of the day; the country was in peace and in great prosperity, and this was a sort of overflowing of the idle feelings of the nation. The Hall used to be crowded to excess, and with as many women as men. It did not require much talent to be *eloquent* upon such a subject, especially as there was *perfect freedom as to facts*, and as to *contradiction*, that was nearly as much as a man's life was worth. I was a little short of twenty-six years old, and my wife a little short of eighteen. She, of course, had no will but mine, thinking me, as every good wife will, not only the best but the *wisest* man in the world; and in consequence of the *intense* oratory of Coachmakers' Hall, and of little lying *books* and delightfully-disgusting *pictures*, sold by old mother GURNEY, the mother of the *lawyer* of that name, who has abused me two or three times, of late years, and who was, I think, one of the *intense* orators; in consequence of these, my *wisdom* decided that my wife and I should *never more use sugar or coffee*, these being, as the orators assured me, highly impregnated with the *sweat* and *blood* of the poor blacks.

We continued in the disuse for some time in England; then for six months in France; then on a long and most tempestuous voyage to the *United States*. But arrived there, and being in a community partly consisting of blacks, my *wisdom* soon began to wear away; and back we came to the sugar and the coffee. Slavery had then been nearly *abolished by law* in Pennsylvania, to which city I went to live soon after my arrival; and if a slave were brought into the State by any one, the slave *became free*. I soon ascertained that the lot of the blacks had become *worse* in consequence of the change; that, in numerous instances, they chose to remain and *serve as before*; that those who availed themselves of the law, be-

came idle and miserable; that the *stealing of poultry and other things* now became, for the first time, common in that country; and I found the same in the State of New York, when I was last in America. *There* the blacks had been freed very *slowly*; and yet, in proportion as they became free, and *educated* (mind) *their numbers grew less*; arising from their natural *indolence* and their want of *trustworthiness*; and it was the general opinion, that *the race would become extinct in a few years*. At this time (1818) the State of Pennsylvania was planning to *get rid of the blacks*, as WILMOT HORTON and SIR GLORY are planning to *get rid of the whites* in England. *Funds were raised for the purpose*; and every thing was ready to take them to AFRICA, there to have *lands*, and to be well provided with *tools* of all sorts, in which scheme the QUAKERS (who had been the cause of freeing them) took the lead. But when the blacks found that they were *to work* in Africa, they *refused to go*; they "*called meetings*," and "*resolved*," that being *natives* of the state, they had a right not only to live in it, but to have a share of its produce; in which they were right, provided they worked for that share, which, however, they rarely did, as long as there was a roost for them to rob.

Besides this, my experience as to the American Negroes, I happened to be in that country at the time when those planters and merchants, who had escaped the knives of the humane "*amis des noirs*," arrived in the United States from SAINT DOMINGO, that richest and most beautiful colony that the world had ever seen, but which, by the *philanthropic* ruffians, SANTHONAX and PUVEREL, had been made a heap of ashes and of blood. The fugitives were very numerous, and of all the ranks in life; noblesse, judges, lawyers, doctors, priests, planters, merchants, tradesmen, all sorts, from the highest to the lowest of *whites*, and great numbers of their slaves *who had fled with their masters*, and who, though *free by the law* in Pennsylvania, continued to serve those masters. I, who taught at that time, English to French-

men, was well acquainted with these people; was very particular in my inquiries as to the treatment of the slaves in the West Indies; and I was thoroughly convinced that their treatment had been as gentle as was compatible with getting moderate labour from them; and, indeed, as was compatible with their own well-being. I very frequently talked with the slaves themselves; and hardly ever with one who did not wish himself back in his former state.

So much for my own knowledge of the matter, with this addition, however, that I never in my life had a minute's labour, of any sort, from the hand of a slave, and never would, whatever might be the inconvenience attending the want of it, I having always disliked to have any thing to do with beings, who my eyes, ears, nose, and reason, told me were *a race different from, and inferior to, that to which I belonged*. At the opening of the election at Preston, WOOD thought he had a capital thing against me, in an article of mine, published many years before, in which this same sentiment was expressed. When he had finished his piece of *prime cant*, I answered somewhat in this way: "Gentlemen, Mr. WOOD misinterprets my meaning. I did not mean that the blacks were inferior to *all* whites, for I readily allow them to be equal to *him*; I only meant that they were not equal to *you* and to *me*. I did not say, or mean, that *he* had not *wool* on his head, and a *smell as strong* as that of the blacks; I only meant to say, that such people as *you* and *I* had not. I by no means meant to deny that the minds of the blacks were equal to *his*; all I meant to say was, that *you* and *I*, and such-like people, have minds more acute, and feelings more sensitive, than those of the blacks." A convulsive laugh was the effect, and natural enough it was; and I heard no more about the blacks.

Well, and is it not *true*, that they are of *intellect* and of *sensibility* inferior? No justification this for *cruel treatment*; for cruelty is wickedness, and deserving of punishment, when practised on the body, or even on the temper, of a brute.

To take away a pup or a kitten from the mother for the purpose of making her uneasy, or, to do it all unnecessarily; to take away a bird's eggs, or young ones, unnecessarily: every thing of this sort is unjust and wicked: it is *cruelty*, and argues obduracy of heart. How much more wicked must it be, then, to treat with cruelty human beings, especially when they *labour for us*, and are, under proper treatment, capable of attachment and gratitude! But, in making an estimate of the *mental* sufferings attendant on slavery, we must take into view the intellectual qualities of the parties; and all the *laws*, ever heard of in the world, have taken them into view.

And as to the *fact* of inferiority of intellect, is it not now proved? Till within these forty years no one ever affected to doubt of it; but what doubt can there be *now*, when, for forty years, all sorts of schemes have been tried, *both in England and America*, to produce some Negro of *literary talent*; and not one has yet appeared! What! *no lawyer, no doctor, no preacher* even! No *novel* or *paragraph* writer! But, moreover, *not one man or woman of the blacks* ever admitted into the *Society of Quakers*! No, nor into any other religious sect, the half-mad Methodists only excepted. But the *Quakers* above all; they who *freed them*; they who have so long contended for their *natural equality with the whites*; they, even *they*, never to have found, amongst such numbers of thousands, one single individual worthy of being, even at the Meeting House, placed on an *equality with themselves*! One of *four things* we have here: the blacks are *naturally inferior in point of intellect* to the whites; or, they are *naturally too depraved in morals* to be admitted into a virtuous society; or, as to acquirements, they are *naturally too lazy* to exert the powers of their minds; or the "*philanthropists*," and particularly the Quakers, are the greatest *hypocrites* that God ever suffered to walk under the sun. Let the "*amis des noirs*" pick and choose here: take which they will, they confirm the opinion, that the blacks are *a race by nature inferior to the*

whites, or these pious "*amis des noirs*," who talk so much about Christianity, set at nought the precept of St. JAMES, who enjoins them not, *in places of worship*, to have *respect to persons*. Pick and choose, let them, amongst the *four propositions*; for as to the pretence, that their *long degradation* still keeps them down, that can serve no longer; for there are now thousands upon thousands of black men, forty years old, who were *born free*; and yet, amongst the whole, not a single man of *literary talent*, or even a single *merchant* or *tradesman*, of any eminence; nay, not a single *mechanic* of any note, has ever yet appeared; though there have been *black-schools* in the United States for thirty years.

This, however, is no ground for *cruelly treating them*; no, nor for *placing them in slavery at all*. But they are in slavery. If the question *now* were, whether Africans *should be brought* from their own country to be made to work in America and the West Indies, I, for one, should say, let them be where they are, and let us do, as our forefathers did, with the sweets produced by the *bees*, and without the coffee and the cotton. But there they are at work to produce these things, which cannot be produced without them; and they will not do that work *without compulsion* of the most direct kind.

So that the question is, not whether there shall be Negro-slavery, but whether we shall have sugar, coffee, and cotton, at the cheap rate and in the abundance in which we now have them; or, rather, this *would be* the question if we were *the masters of the whole world*; but we are not; and though, if the act be bad, it is no justification to say, that, if we do not commit it, *somebody else will*; it is a justification to say, that if we abolish slavery, the colonies will be transferred to other nations, our power will be diminished, theirs will be augmented in the same proportion positively, and, relatively, doubly augmented; so that while we should do *no good at all to the blacks*, we should be doing *great injury to ourselves*. And who, that has eyes, does not see, that the

doubts and fears with which these clamourers in England are continually agitating the minds of the West India colonists; that the state of *continual uncertainty*, in which their property is thus placed; that the working of the *spies* of the "*amis des noirs*" is fast alienating the colonies from England, and preparing them for a transfer of their allegiance to a power which is too wise to harbour in its bosom, and, indeed, to be dictated to by, a faction aiming at popular influence, and at power and patronage, and at the gratification of its ambition and avarice, through the means of that influence, obtained by professions of superior and most disinterested humanity; a power too wise and too just and too really humane to wring, and a people too sensible to suffer it to attempt to wring, millions upon millions out of the labour of the nation, to be expended in projects intended by such faction to destroy the property of their fellow-citizens, though the accomplishment of the projects endanger the power of the nation itself.

Negro-slavery in the States of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, &c., is what it is in Jamaica. And, in the first place, is it to be presumed, that WASHINGTON, for instance, was not as good and just and humane as MASSA WILBY, *who voted and spoke even for the continuation of the Dungeon-bill, in 1818?* Old Mr. RUSHTON, of Liverpool, a very good man I have always heard say, but very mad on this subject, wrote, once, to General Washington, *remonstrating* with him for holding slaves. The General put his letter up in a *clean* piece of paper, and *sent it back to him*. RUSHTON, to "*shame the rogue,*" *printed it*; but the General's name remains unfaded; and remain it will for many centuries. Why, was not *he* a judge of what it was just and proper to do in such a case? Was not *he* a better judge, and more likely to know how to act advantageously for his country, than this band of popularity-hunters? The United States, in their wonderful career, have had, including the present, *seven Presidents*, FIVE of the seven have been Virginians and *slave-holders*. The government has

been established *forty years*; THIRTY-TWO of which it has had a slave-holder at its head; the two ADAMSES having sat but *four years* each, and all the slave-holders *eight years* each!

One would think that these facts would be enough; but, I'll warrant, that the American people are *not so good judges of character* as the Massa Wilbys and Broughams, and Fowel Buxtons, and Allens, and M'Cauleys and Babbingtons; and, in point of *disinterestedness*, Old STEPHEN, who was once a *hired reporter* to Perry, who is now a *relation of Wilby*, and a *Master in Chancery*, beats Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Munro and Jackson, all to nothing! Oh, no! not so good judges as those who read ALLEN's tracts, and look at his pretty *pictures* about the flogging of *Negro slaves*; for ALLEN does not publish any *tracts* about the flogging in *England*, in which respect ALLEN is full as *wise* as he is humane, if not more! Not any thing like so good judges as those who blubber over ALLEN's *tracts*, and then take a little sip of "*Old Jamaica*" to cheer up their hearts, and to steady their hands for the writing of their names at the bottom of Brougham's balderdash circular petitions!

What, I wonder, would be said of a band of humanity-men, or, "*amis des noirs*," who should take it into their heads to meet in a tavern at Philadelphia, and there "*resolve unanimously*" that the blacks in Virginia and the other Southern and Western States *should be freed*? *Saying*, however, would be little. Every southern man that was in the city would go to the bawling shop with a horse-whip, or a '*cowkin*'; and then the band would, at any rate, not shed tears *for nothing*. But, did the world ever hear before of such a thing as is now going on *here* in this respect? Here is a band of fellows, regularly *combined* and *organized* for destroying the property of a particular portion of the people, and for diminishing the power of the country; and this is not only suffered with *impunity*; but the parties really *overawe* the Government, and get from it, little by little, *legal means* of

effecting their object! They by their *tracts and meetings and newspaper writings* raise such a clamour, get up *so many* petitions, that they make the Government believe that the voice of the *nation* is raised against the West India colonies.

This is the true state of the case; but, there yet remains to be discussed the question, *whether the Negro slavery be really kept up by the means of cruelty*; because, if that can be *clearly proved*, then, I say, *abolish it*, and at once and wholly, *let the consequences be what they may*. "Ah, then," exclaim Wilby and Brougham and Buxton and Allen and M'Cauley and Babbington, "*there we join issue with you*." Here, then, look at *this heart-rending account*: "if you have tears, prepare to shed them."

Now, my readers, to whom I have always preached an abhorrence of cruelty, I am going to lay this account before you. It was published in the London MORNING CHRONICLE of 8th Oct. 1829, under this title: "CRUELITIES OF WEST INDIA SLAVERY AT THIS MOMENT. BY AN EYE-WITNESS." And the Editor of the MORNING CHRONICLE puts to it a preface in these words: "The following extracts are from a letter recently received from a gentleman in Jamaica, by his brother, a clergyman in this country, by whom it is authenticated; only a few trifling verbal alterations have been made." Now, then, my friends, men of real humanity, read this whole article with great attention; for, on this very article, on the truth or falsehood of it, published by a clergyman in England, received from the clergyman's brother, which brother was an EYE-WITNESS of what he related; on the truth or falsehood of this article must depend our opinion of all the accounts put forth by the "*amis des noirs*." Read, therefore, every word of it with attention. I beseech you not to slur over any part of it. I would, for the sake of your eyes, put it in larger print; but perhaps it will demand a commentary that I may not be able to squeeze into a small compass. If you do not read the letter all

through with great attention, you will not understand my remarks of it.

"Jamaica, May 15th, 1829.

"I quite long to hear what *The Evening Mail* has to say on emancipation. I have seen a draft of the terms on which they are to have it, and I think they have got everything they could possibly expect or wish. I hope they will now be quiet for some little time, and allow Government to pay some little attention to the condition of the wretched slaves in this country, whose case is deplorable in the extreme. How most egregiously were my dear friend and myself deceived by what we witnessed at Kingston. For what we saw there (I now find) could give us no more idea of slavery than a man born blind can have an idea of the various colours of the rainbow; here we have it in its true colours, but my heart sickens at the very thoughts of it. You will be as surprised as I was myself on first coming, to hear that we did not find a single respectable person (except the collector, who is a countryman) in this whole town or neighbourhood, so that you will say we are well off in respect to society. But it is on my dear —'s account I feel it so much, as she does not see a creature from one end of the week to the other. The owners of an estate, or rather the mortgagees (as all the estates here are mortgaged), do not, one in a hundred, reside on their property, but invariably take up their abode in a more genial climate, preferring half their income at home to residing in such a country. In these instances they delegate their power to what are here designated 'attorneys,' something like agents at home, with this great difference, that they are entrusted with a thousand times greater authority and power; from which flows the power of appointing all their subordinate agents, such as managers, overseers, book-keepers, &c., &c.; and therefore, without assigning any cause, and at a moment's warning, he can remove or dismiss any one of them; the owners or mortgagees at home not troubling themselves with the internal management, or with any further inquiries than demanding from the attorney why the estate this year produced, say ten hogsheads of sugar, less than last? The effects of this censure pass from the attorney to the manager or overseer, by dismissal, or a threat of it, and from them, of course, to those under them; and it generally, or rather invariably, terminates on the unfortunate slave's back. The attorney, to save himself as much trouble as possible (as many of them have charge of nine or ten estates), and to insure their grinding all the labour possible out of the wretched slaves, commits the discipline of the estate to the resident manager and overseer, and his other subordinate agents. These, many in number, all possess and exercise the tremendous power, for such it truly is, of inflicting on the slaves under their government, whether male or female, the punishment of the cart-whip. These

inferior agents are, for the most part, free creoles of the worst description, or of the lowest class of whites. It would, however, be comparatively well for the wretched slaves if the delegation ended here. It descends still lower, to what are designated drivers, who are always themselves Negro slaves. The slaves on an estate are divided into what they call gangs, each of which has one of these drivers, and, in cases where they are numerous, two or three; these are entrusted with the power of the whip over their unfortunate brethren while working in the field. As it would be utterly impossible for any European to remain, as the slaves do, exposed to the vertical sun from the time of its rising till its setting, they therefore only visit occasionally; and then, if any neglect appears, the driver himself comes in for a portion of what he has been so liberally dispensing to others. But a greater misfortune still is, that these drivers make it subservient to the gratification of their employers' sensual appetites, by applying the whip to the removal of any impediment that may arise, even should it be a wretched mother trying to shield a yet more wretched daughter from the lust of such merciless brutes. These drivers are the most athletic slaves belonging to the state; and as using the whip is the only work allotted to them, their plump and robust appearance forms a striking contrast to the poor labourers whom they drive. But how to describe this painful and dreadful emblem and engine of office, the whip, I know not. To give you even a remote conception of it, I am afraid will be impossible. Would to God I could, and that I was enabled to raise my feeble voice so as reach the ear of every person in England and Ireland (from what I have witnessed of Scotchmen here, it would be useless appealing to them) with one spark of feeling in their hearts; that with one voice we might proclaim to the world how wofully and dreadfully are those at home imposed upon who suppose that the wretched and unfortunate slaves are much better off than they were years ago, notwithstanding the numerous Acts of Parliament enacted for ameliorating their condition; one of which is, that a slave shall not receive more than thirty-nine lashes at any one time for the same fault. But when I attempt to give you a description of what those lashes may be, you will, I think, agree with me in saying how absurd and ridiculous such an act is. But I must first try and give you a description of the whip itself, although in so doing it will make the blood chill and curdle in my veins. Anything like it has never been witnessed at home. It consists of a short handle with a thick and strongly-platted whip about three yards long, formed either of rope as hard as iron, or of a strip of dried hide, the lash of it being made of the fibres of a plant named penguin, in appearance like the finest flax; when twisted up and knotted, it becomes as hard as steel, and will cut equal to a razor.

Those drivers being themselves naturally harsh and unfeeling brutes, from the cruel treatment they in their time experienced, become, from long training, most expert in the use of the whip, and they well know how to direct and how to aggravate or mitigate its inflictions at will. They have a kind of emulation in the loudness of the report which they produce from this instrument of torture; and the noise of it is so dreadful, that I assure you when I first came here, I have jumped out of bed at five o'clock in the morning, supposing it had been a pistol discharged under my window. No wonder that it makes the strongest of its male patients, not to speak of the females, tremble; for even the very mules and oxen tremble at the thunders it sends forth. On some estates the smack of it is used instead of a bell, to summon the unfortunate negroes from their huts, at the earliest dawn, to their morning labours. The drivers, however, can, when they please, in inflicting punishment, produce, from the adroitness with which they use it, a loud report, without proportionate severity of stripes; whilst, on the other hand, when told to cut, as the phrase is, they can inflict a gash at every stroke, so as to make a few lashes a tremendous punishment. It is not an uncommon thing for them to lay open the flank of a mule or of oxen when driving, cutting fairly through their tough hides at a single stroke; for which, by the bye, if their overseers or managers observe it, they are sure to pay for it themselves, as it of course injures the cattle; but in case of a slave being treated so, it would be passed over with impunity. The proprietor of the — here, and who lives, I am sorry to say, under the same roof with us, but, you may be sure, not in the same apartments, takes credit to himself for being possessed of no small portion of humanity, as he told me the other day, when reasoning with him on the dreadful system of flogging, that he had given directions to the drivers not to cut the negroes, on pain of being laid down and flogged themselves, for when inflicting this torture they are always extended on the ground. But you must observe, cutting does not mean merely drawing blood and fleecing off the skin, for those are the effects of almost every lash on the naked body with this instrument, however leniently applied; but it means cutting into the very muscles and flesh below. The most disgusting sights that any part of the world can produce are to be witnessed here daily, by a few miles' drive out in this dreadful country. The roads are frequently intersected by narrow shallow rivers, at which parties of negro women are at almost all times to be seen washing clothes, their bodies quite naked, with merely something wrapped round their loins, and thus stand exposed to full view the crowded and callous scars of repeated punishments. But as a conclusion to this disgusting subject, and to show I 'nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice,' it was only

the day before yesterday, when writing, I heard the noise of that dreadful instrument, which so often grates on my ear, proceed from a back yard, each crack of it being followed by an agonising groan that would have touched a heart of adamant. In hopes of begging off the miserable creature, whoever it might be, I went there; but, gracious God! what an appalling sight did I behold, a wretched woman extended on the ground, with her clothes tied up to the waist, a powerful negro man, upwards of six feet high (a driver from the workhouse, who has to deal there with the worst characters) lacerating her flesh, and this disgusting and abominable sight directed and superintended by a mother and her daughter; the poor miserable slave herself the mother of eleven children, nine of whom are living, and a grown-up daughter of her own one of the spectators! And yet I have a book now lying beside me, 'Calumnies, &c. &c. against the West Indies Refuted,' which is in general circulation through England, and in which I observe on the page open before me, 'that punishing females with the whip is wholly abolished;' and further, 'that it is discontinued in the field'—two as infamous and abominable falsehoods as were ever sent forth to the world; and this is one of the ways people at home are deceived and misinformed. Another way of concealing the vile proceedings going on on an estate is to prevent any one (particularly those lately arrived from England) from visiting them, without having had previous permission, as was the case, the other day, when I took my ——— to see the process; I had to ask leave the preceding evening, and when we went next day the negroes were all nicely dressed, not a whip or cat-o'-pine-tails to be seen, and every thing in the nicest order; however, I was determined to take another peep, and some days afterwards, when the militia had to muster, at which all the white people on an estate are obliged to attend, I took advantage of their absence, and privately drove out again, and then we saw every driver armed with his whip. On going over to see my friend, some time after the wretched creature had been flogged, she told me she had been very unhappy since I left her, as she was sure she heard the noise of the whip inflicted on some wretched being. It was painful to me to confirm her fears by telling her I was an eye witness to it; she desired her own servant to try and find out what had been the poor woman's crime; and what, think you, it was? The poor wretch had left some things before the fire to dry belonging to her mistress, and having placed them too near the fire, in her absence they were burnt, the whole of which were not worth five shillings. It having come to the ear of this monster (in the shape of a woman) that my friend knew of her flogging her slave, she had the effrontery and barefaced impertinence, the next morning, when we were at breakfast, to send us a present of some grapes, in the hope of appeasing us. I

need hardly say that they were returned with a proper reply. But if further proof were necessary, that the barbarous treatment is still in existence, in the house we live in there is a very interesting little girl of about eighteen years of age, who has lost her eye by a blow of a whip from her mistress, but you may be sure not since I came here. When we first came, every morning regularly we were disturbed at day-light with its sound by our worthy and humane landlady; however I soon put a stop to that. The evening before last we walked up to the ——— (our sole society) to drink tea, and I happened to mention to him what I had witnessed that day (as he was not down at his office), and asked him if I could not take the woman before a Magistrate. There was a lady present (hardly deserving the epithet) and a namesake, the wife of an attorney, and possessing 150 slaves, who hearing me state the circumstance and ask the question, in the most unfeeling and brutal manner, said, 'What, Mr. ———, would you prevent the woman doing what she pleased with her own?' This horrid woman so incensed me, that the only reply I could make was, and not in the most courteous manner, for which I have since heard she has designated me mighty rude, 'that I thanked God, for the sake of the poor slaves, that we are all travelling to that place, where but two characters will be met, the good and the bad, the believer and the unbeliever.' I need not add, that this silenced her. But think you, what was the worthy ———'s advice? he said, I might have the woman brought before a Magistrate, but perhaps I might find *him* committing the same act on one of his own slaves, and, therefore, not likely to give much redress. Families who have only domestic slaves, and do not keep drivers, whenever they want to punish them, send to the workhouse for a driver (for which they pay 2s. 6d.) just with as little concern as Paddy Carney, your butcher, would be sent for to kill a sheep. All the Acts of Parliament passed with the hope of bettering the slaves' condition, have as yet proved the reverse to them, as the only effect they have, is to make their overseers and drivers more cautious in concealing their cruelties. But after so long and tedious a dissertation on such a disgusting subject, you will be glad of a little respite, and, if you dare do it, after what you have just read, take another spoonful of sugar to your cup of tea, and it is a hundred to one if there is not a tear of anguish and horror blended up along with it. Indeed, I would venture to assert at any stake (if it were possible to ascertain), that there is not a hogshead of sugar ever leaves the island without having many of them in it; but I must take a respite for the present myself."

"May, 16.

"I think my dearest friends will all be very glad to hear I am not to-day going to renew the account of the heart-rending scenes

to be witnessed here, not daily but hourly, and I grieve to say, that on reading over what I wrote yesterday, I have not coloured the picture a whit too highly. What I would wish now would be, to suggest a remedy for these crying evils. There is, in my opinion, but one effectual way, and that is, First, to work a reformation in the minds and habits of those placed over the unfortunate slaves, for it is impossible to give you an idea of the dreadful depravity of the whole of the white population, with scarcely a single exception. They oppose to the utmost of their power (which over the slaves is unbounded) every thing in the shape of religion, turning it, on all occasions, into contempt and mockery. I cannot conceive what is the cause of it; it seems almost as if there were something contaminating in the very air, for the moment a person sets his foot on shore here, you would think that he landed with a license to give free and full vent to all the worst passions of the heart; and the greater a man's depravity is here, the more highly you hear him spoken of as 'a good fellow.' Sunday here is the day of great business; not even yet is one of the markets abolished on that day, although the Speaker of the House of Assembly, and another of its members, are inhabitants of the place. The poor slaves themselves would most gladly devote that day to other and better purposes, but their inhuman and unchristian overseers will not allow them any other time to procure the necessities of life. Yet, notwithstanding the numberless obstacles thrown in their way to prevent their attending public worship, the Church is crowded with them every Sunday, and it is delightful to see with what earnestness and devotion they attend. The poor creatures are anxious enough and willing to receive instruction, and to become enlightened; but until that great barrier, the opposition of their overseers or owners, is, in some measure removed, their advances in morality and civilization must be very slow. It is quite a rare sight to see one of the white population at church, one or two ladies occasionally, but the gentlemen never. The late Rector, who has been removed to another part of the Island, was a most indefatigable labourer in his master's vineyard, in supporting schools, and dissuading the planters from objecting to their slaves attending religious meetings. There is here one of the prettiest churches I ever saw. It was a most gratifying sight to see it on Easter Sunday almost filled to suffocation with all colours, except white. As to the Bishop, if I had not happened to have seen him at Kingston, I should not have known that there was one in the Island, he keeps himself so very quiet."

Now, my friends, you have read this dismal account; this horrid tale; and, before we go further, you ought to know *who* and *what* this "EYE WITNESS" is? His name is G. H. SMITH, and he

is, or, at least, he was, in May, 1829, COMPTROLLER OF THE CUSTOMS at the port of SAVANNAH LA MAR, in the Island of Jamaica, and also a LIEUTENANT OF THE NAVY. The letter was received by his BROTHER, in Ireland, a CLERGYMAN OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH; it was published by this Clergyman's authority; it was sent to the MORNING CHRONICLE by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; and that Society, by their Committee, and in the pages of a work, which they publish monthly, called "the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER," says that they have made inquiries relative to this letter of SMITH, and that the result is, A "COMPLETE CONVICTION OF ITS GENUINENESS." Well, then, say you, it *must* be true. If it be, I hesitate not a moment to say, that all law ought, to be suspended in Jamaica, and that the blacks ought to be let loose, with knife and torch, to exterminate the whites! But, if it be *false*; if it be a *tissue of hypocrisy and lies*; and, if this be proved by *Smith's own confession*, made ON HIS OATH; if this be the case; and, if I make all this as clear to you as the sun at noon-day, what punishment, what abhorrence, are due to the writer, to the publisher, and to the "*Anti-Slavery*" crew, who, after making "inquiries," assert the "*genuineness*" of this letter!

Now, then, my friends, I am going to make all things clear to you, and to call for your virtuous indignation against this band of imposters, who are, by means like this, appealing to the best feelings of sincere people, for the purpose of gratifying their own selfish and base ambition at the expense of their fellow citizens, the West India proprietors, and at the manifest risk of deeply injuring the power of the country.

SAVANNAH LA MAR is situated in a parish of Jamaica, called WESTMORELAND. When the Morning Chronicle containing Smith's letter reached Jamaica, a Meeting of the Inhabitants of that parish was called; and, the letter having been traced to Smith, he attended the meeting, and the discussions took place in his presence. This meeting concluded by appointing a Com-

mittee to examine Smith ; and here follows a copy of their report of that examination, signed by Smith himself.

The following are the admissions of G. H. Smith, Esq., and signed by him :—As regards the allegation, in respect to the cruel treatment of the slave Mary, Mr. Smith commences : " He was writing in the custom-house on the day in question, and heard the sound of the whip, and some person crying out after each blow ; hearing it continue some time, he went out, and followed the sound of the whip ; and on arriving at the gate of Mr. Anthony Touzalin's yard, he saw a female extended on the ground, and a driver punishing her ; her clothes up to her hips ; was astonished, from not having seen a female punished before ; imagined at first that it was a boy, but found it to be a female full grown ; returned back to the custom-house, and heard the whip for some little time afterwards continue : when he went out again he saw two women of colour looking on ; as it was the first time he had witnessed such, he thought it very severe, but did not observe if the skin was lacerated, and cannot speak as to the number of licks ; at the lowest computation, it might have been fifteen or twenty lashes. As he was standing at the gate, a slave whom he did not know, said to him, " For God's sake, Massa, beg him off " ; recollected replying, that he would sooner do any thing than beg a favour from such a woman ; that punishment appeared to be very often inflicted in that yard ; only a few weeks ago he saw a woman coming out crying ; *never saw another instance of the punishment of a female in that way* ; he was told that it was not illegal, but justifiable, and therefore did not complain to any magistrate ; asked the same woman whom he had met by the gate the day before, what the crime was, or it might have been through Mrs. Smith's servant, but as far as he remembered, not ; *but believes the crime*, from such information, was for allowing some clothes to be burnt, the value of which might have been, the negro woman said, five shillings. Before he witnessed the above occurrence, which was the first instance of a female being punished in that manner, he had seen from the 8th of February until May, at Savannah-la-Mar ; had often seen minor punishments with a cow-skin ; never heard that she was punished for any other crime than the one above-mentioned. In respect to the girl, who belongs to one of Miss Whitehead's nieces, he believes, and has heard of, the occurrences, as it is mentioned in his publication, viz., that it was from the blow of a whip inflicted by Miss Nelly Whitehead ; but if misinformed, would be happy to find himself so ; heard it generally, and believes from Mr. Fraser once, that it had occurred in that manner, but never heard how long ago it was ; it was, however done before he came to the island ; could not believe that any body could, maliciously and purposely, deprive a child of its eye ; but believes it must

have been done while flogging ; never saw any act of inhumanity on the part of Mr. Fraser, the proprietor of the wharf ; but the conversation did take place, as stated in the letter, between him and Mr. Fraser. Since he has been acquainted with him, not one instance of severity on the part of Mr. Fraser was committed ; in fact, quite the contrary. The first time he ever heard the term *cat* made use of was by Mr. Fraser, *who explained to him the nature, which was laying open the skin, but not to the extent mentioned in the letter* ; that was a severity which he, Mr. Fraser, never allowed to be practised on his negroes.

It was not consistent with his knowledge that the white people, as well as the drivers on the estates, are intrusted with the punishment of the negroes ; and exercise it at their own discretion, as stated in his letter.

Never knew, of his own knowledge, that the white people were not in constant attendance upon the negroes all the day ; but heard so, and the day when he visited the estate, when they were cutting canes, it was a muster day. Another instance, he believed, at Amity, and that was also in crop time ; *had been told the drivers on the estates exercise their power for the gratification of their sensual appetites ; but POSITIVELY DENIES THAT IN ANY LETTER HE EVER SENT HOME HE CHARGED THE WHITE PEOPLE UPON ESTATES WITH SUCH A CALUMNY* : was not acquainted with the difference existing between the drivers and the slaves upon estates, as to their appearance.

Had adopted the opinion of others, not his own, upon the subject of severe flogging and lacerating ; but was never near enough to examine whether any infliction was to the extent mentioned in the letters ; but has seen severe punishment, among the workhouse negroes particularly, and which was the occasion once of Mr. Fraser finding fault with the workhouse driver for such infliction ; but in the case alluded to, the negro stood up while being being punished.

HAD TAKEN HIS OPINION PARTLY FROM MR. STEPHEN'S WORK, and partly from the opinion of people in this island, but declined giving the names ; *did not know, of his own knowledge, of any case in which a negro has complained, and has not obtained a hearing or redress ; that he never complained to a magistrate of ill treatment to a slave, in consequence of the information he had received that he would not obtain redress, but declined to say from whom he had got such information ; had since mentioned to a magistrate, as a matter of conversation, what he considered a severe instance of punishment, but that the reply was, that it was not an illegal infliction.*

Laboured under an impression, that it was customary to obtain leave from the managers of estates, before visiting them, from the circumstance of being informed, that leave had been requested for him. He rather supposed that it must be a mistake in the allusion to Scotchmen ; if he made that assertion in the letter, it must have been from a former im-

pression; but did not think they are *more harsh than the other class of persons or country*, from what he had witnessed here; did not know, of his own knowledge, but had heard slave-owners say, that they employed the workhouse slaves to punish their domestic slaves.

Never knew, of his own knowledge, of an instance of owners preventing their slaves attending divine service; believed it to be the reverse, and did not hesitate to say, that it was an erroneous impression; had heard, that slave owners both send their domestic slaves to the workhouse to be punished, and also send for the workhouse driver to their houses, for the same purposes; that the second visit to an estate was not to the same estate first alluded to, viz. Bath estate, where Mr. Locke resides, but another, although he did not name it; and that that explanation was for the purpose of removing the erroneous impression conveyed in the letter.

It did not consist with his own knowledge, and he never witnessed, and in fact he acknowledged that he was in error in the following:—That the negroes are in the habit of laying open the flanks of oxen and mules at a single stroke, which, if known by their overseers, would be punished; but, in the case of a negro, it would be passed over with impunity; and admitted that he had adopted Mr. Stephen's opinion on that subject; and did not think, from his present longer residence in this country, that such an act, in respect to a negro, would be passed over with impunity; that it is a fact, with respect to the instance alluded to, of his jumping out of bed, upon hearing the report of a whip, between five and six o'clock in the morning, which was the punishment of a workhouse negro, which he considered a very severe infliction."

(Signed)

G. H. SMITH.

J. S. WILLIAMS, Chairman.

The HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, that is to say, the *Legislature* of the Island, made this matter a subject of *inquiry*. They called Smith before a Committee, and, along with him, his *only* friend and associate, EVELYN, who was the Collector of the Customs at *Savannah-la-Mar*, and whom Smith, in his letter, describes as the "*only respectable person in the whole town and neighbourhood.*" The House of Assembly, very judiciously and justly, brought them both before the Committee, *face to face*, and put them both upon their OATH; and here follows the Report that the Committee makes of their *swearings*.

That they (the Committee) have taken the examination, on oath, of *Lindon Howard Evelyn, Esq.*, who is described by Mr. Smith

as the only respectable man in Westmoreland, and his sole society.

In the examination, *Mr. Evelyn has given a succinct and direct negative to the charges of Mr. Smith*, who cannot object to the credibility of a gentleman, whom he eulogises as the *only individual sufficiently respectable to be his associate*, and who is his brother officer, Mr. Evelyn being the collector and Mr. Smith the comptroller of his Majesty's customs at *Savannah-la-Mar*, in Westmoreland.

Mr. Smith has also made a *voluntary statement on oath*, and directly contradicting the statements contained in his published letter. In this letter his accusations are alleged to be made by an eye-witness of the supposed facts on which the charges of cruelty are founded. In this statement, *on oath*, before your committee, he declares, that these accusations are untrue, and that they arose from his having been misled by an individual in whom he reposed unaccustomed confidence. By implication he accuses Mr. Evelyn ("his only associate") of having deceived him by false information.

Your committee do not consider it necessary to contrast the contradictory evidence and repugnant statements of the two friends. It suffices to draw public attention to that part of Mr. Smith's *voluntary deposition*, wherein he expresses his regret for having been induced, through misrepresentation, to injure an *unoffending community*.

Your committee have also caused to be laid before them the proceedings of a court of council of protection for slaves, held at *Savannah-la-Mar*, where it was proved by the most solemn depositions, that the charge made by Mr. Smith of the atrocious crime of wantonly maiming a slave is unjust, and that the injury the fellow-creature alluded to received was the consequence of a mere unintentional act, of an accident which occurred several years before Mr. Smith's arrival in this island, and for which mischance, had it happened in the case of free persons, no punishment would have been awarded in Jamaica or in England.

The documents above referred to are annexed by your committee to this report.

Your committee attach no further importance to this inquiry than as it tends to evince the manner in which the character and conduct of the West Indians are slandered. An officer of his Majesty's customs in Jamaica writes a letter containing charges preferred against the community in which he resides of the most atrocious cruelty towards their dependents. This letter is immediately disseminated through the most widely-circulated publications of the united kingdom, and thence the general inference is propagated that a system of wanton and oppressive cruelty exists in the West India colonies. When the opportunity is offered of tracing the calumny to its source, then the author declares he was misled by a friend, whom he yet refuses to name in words, though by facts he points him out; then the author declares that his accusations, though published as having emanated from

an "eye-witness," were not founded upon his own view, experience, or even rational inquiry: then the author admits that *his charges are gross misrepresentations*: and then he expresses his regret for having caused the publications of allegations as facts which he *on his oath* says, his own experience has, subsequently to the publication, convinced him *are false*; and then charges his correspondent, "his clerical brother," with having made "his own alterations," before he published the letter from this supposed "eye-witness" libelling a whole country.

Short and sweet! This report, and the other documents and proceedings, show, that the sun of the West Indies does not *coddle people's brains*, at any rate; and, indeed, if a thousandth part as much sense and spirit had been shown by the West Indians in England, as has been shown by them in Jamaica, the affairs of that, and the other islands, would not have been in the miserable state in which they *now* are. But, the fact is this: the "*body*" of West Indians, as they call themselves, are under the control of a part of the *Aristocracy*, who are proprietors: these have *two interests*; one to preserve their West India property; but another to preserve their *political power here*. Hence their *trimming*; hence their feeble defence of the colonies against the attacks of the popularity-hunting assailants; and hence a state of things which cannot *long* exist without severing those rich colonies from England, and transferring them to add to the power of the United States.

Here I might stop: here is *quite enough*, with regard to *Smith*, and also with regard to the "ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY," who *vouch* for "the *genuineness*" of the published letter, while *Smith swears*, that "*alterations*" have been made in that very letter. This is quite enough for any *just* and *sensible* person that has been deluded; and, as to canting, hypocritical, perverse, and senseless people, I neither address myself to them, nor care any thing about them. But, a *peg* upon which *Smith hung* one of his base lies, is worthy of notice. In his letter, he, with true Irish pathos, not unworthy of the Great Big O himself, details the *cruelty* ex-

ercised on "*a female*;" but, being brought to the test, confesses, that it did *not exceed fifteen or twenty strokes*; and he further confesses, "that he did not apply to a magistrate, having learned that the extent of punishment was not illegal;" he also says that "he understood from a negro woman that the punishment inflicted on the said slave was for allowing certain articles of wearing apparel belonging to her mistress (not exceeding the value of five shillings) *to be burnt*."

Now, this was the *only* instance in which he, at last, *pretends*, that he ever saw any punishment at all; and here we have a very fine specimen of the talent of the "*amis des noirs*" at hanging a lie upon a *peg*. The woman was *whipped*; and now for the *cause* of the whipping, as stated on oath, before the Magistrates at Savannah-la-Mar.

Mr. Touzalin's affidavit, as respects *this* charge, is to the following effect: "That Rachel Cotino, from indisposition, had removed for change of air to Mr. Touzalin's house; that she, the said Rachel Cotino, sometime after learned that *her* outhouse (comprising a cook-room, pantries, and divers articles, *to the value of seventy pounds*) was burnt to the ground; that a convalescent state prevented her from at first ascertaining the *cause* of the fire, but that she afterwards discovered that the fire was attributable to the negligence of the said slave *Mary*; that she did not, however, punish the slave for *such offence*, but merely gave her strict injunctions to take better care of the dwelling-house; that she afterwards found no attention had been paid to these orders; and that the said slave had absented herself without leave on a subsequent day (Friday), in consequence of which '*she found fault*' with her; that she received a great deal of impertinence and *menacing abuse* from the said slave *in reply*; and, *on that account alone*, punished her!" Mr. Touzalin also further deposes, that the punishment was not *severe*; and that to *his knowledge* the said slave *Mary* had not been punished *previously* for fifteen years. The combined affidavits of Miss Hunter and Mr. Conery corroborate the whole of Mr. Touzalin's deposition.

Now, what would, in a similar case, have been Mrs. *Mary's* lot in England? If she had escaped the punishment due to the crime of *arson*, she would hardly have escaped a *trial* for it, and the prison to *wait* for that trial; but, at

the very least, for the *menace* joined to the *mischief*, she would, under the statute, have been regaled with *bread and water* for three months, and, to keep her digestive faculties in play, she would have had a dance on the treadmill eight hours out of the twenty-four, or, if that had been pleasanter to her, a little tickling on her shoulders now and then; and this, too, *without any trial at all!* "Aye, but then, there would have been the sentence of a *justice of the peace!*" Great comfort, no doubt, to Mrs. Mary's belly and back! How gladly would *our* offenders in this way compound for Mrs. Mary's punishment! A year or two ago, there was a boy, who, on a Sunday, was got into a little dingle of a Mr. DONNEGER, at Swanmore, in Hampshire, hunting his rabbits. The owner, having hidden himself behind some underwood, with a stick in his hand, darted out upon him, and, seizing him by the collar, said, "Now, you rascal, I'll take you *before the justice!*" "Noa," said the boy, "doon't do *that*: gea me a vlick

or two wi' that thayer stick; and let *that be it!*" Mr. Donnegger was so much pleased with the boy's judicious choice, that he let him go with a, "There, *go along*, you young dog; but, if ever I catch you here again, I'll *take you before the justice.*"

This Smith appears to be an *Irishman*; and his lies were brought out just about the same time that BIG O was putting forth much about the same sort of lies, at a meeting of a branch "ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY" in Dublin, that grand mart of "*intense*" ignorance, folly, hypocrisy, and imposture. But even this Smith is no more than a pupil of OLD STEPHEN; and here, my friends, do admire the *genuine brass* of this Hibernian comptroller, whose letter, called that of an "EYE-WITNESS," consists, in great part, of extracts from STEPHEN'S lying book, PUBLISHED SIX YEARS AGO! Take the following specimens, which do not form more than the half of what I could insert, if I had room.

SMITH, in 1829.

The attorney, to save himself as much trouble as possible (as many of them have charge of nine or ten estates), and to ensure their grinding all the labour possible out of the wretched slaves, *commits the discipline of the estate to the resident manager or overseer, and his other subordinate agents. These, many in number, all possess and exercise the tremendous power, for such it truly is, of inflicting on the slaves under their government, whether male or female, the punishment of the cart-whip. These inferior agents are, for the most part, free Creoles of the worst description, or of the lowest class of whites. It would, however, be comparatively well for the wretched slaves if the delegation ended here. It descends still lower, to what are designated drivers, who are always themselves negro slaves.*

The slaves on an estate are divided into what they call gangs, each of which has one of these drivers, and, in cases where they are numerous, two or three; these are *entrusted with the power of the whip over their unfortunate brethren while working in the field. These drivers are the most athletic slaves belonging to the estate; and as using the whip is the only work allotted to them, their plump and*

STEPHEN, in 1824.

I pass by the attorneys of absent proprietors, the ordinary description of these planters whose incomes enable them to live in Europe, because the attorney, as such, does not, except in extraordinary cases, exercise his delegated authority in punishing the slaves, but *commits the discipline of the estate to the resident manager or overseer, and his subordinate agents. But these, however many in number, possess and exercise the tremendous power, for such it truly is, of inflicting on the slaves under their government, whether male or female, the punishment of the cart-whip?*

When it is considered that *these inferior agents are, for the most part, either Creoles of the worst description, or the lowest class of whites, nursed in the lap of colonial prejudice, &c.*

But it would be well, comparatively, for plantation slaves if the delegation ended here. It descends also to the drivers, who are generally, if not universally, Negro slaves; and yet, as a necessary incident of the opprobrious driving system, are entrusted with the power of the whip over their brethren, while working under their superintendence in the field. These men are selected from among the most intelligent

robust appearance forms a striking contrast to the poor labourers whom they drive !!!

The most disgusting sights that any part of the world can produce are to be witnessed here *daily!* by a few miles drive out in this *dreadful country*. The roads are frequently intersected by narrow shallow rivers, at which *parties of negro women* are at almost all times to be seen *washing clothes, their bodies quite naked, with merely something wrapped round their loins*, and thus stand *exposed* to full view THE CROWDED AND CALLOUS SCARS OF REPEATED PUNISHMENT!!!

Now for a piece of *brass*; now for falsehood *more infamous* than even the man of *nine millions* ever put forth. This last passage of Old STEPHEN, is a *quotation* from letters of DR. PINCKARD, *written from BARBADOES in 1796!* And the "EYE-WITNESS," Smith, coolly takes it out, and *applies it to JAMAICA in 1829!* There, Satan! There, Father of lies! beat that, if you can! Blush, blush, and back to your infernal abode; for the "friends of the blacks" have supplanted you upon earth. Bellowing BIG O, at the philanthropic meeting aforesaid, exclaimed, "Talk of the *colour* of the *skin* of the slave! Look at the *heart* of his master, and you will find it of a much deeper die." What, BIG O, deeper than that of the heart of the man who first suggested the disfranchisement of three hundred thousand of his own poor, defenceless white countrymen! no; and if he had done the like to as many negroes, *they* would never have *cheered* him and *bawled for him again*, degraded as he says they are.

Well, now, what *effect* have these detections and exposures had upon the "ANTI-SLAVERY" crew, the Massa Wilbys, the Broughams, the Fowel Buxtons, the Allens, M'Cauleys, and the like? Have they *silenced* them? Have they made them more modest? Have they made them hesitate? No: made them more noisy, more impudent, more hasty than ever; for *now*, as Brougham told the last meeting in London, they must *demand immediate* and unconditional abolition; and not be *trifled* with any longer! There is *now* to be no longer any *argument*, any *reasoning*,

and the most athletic of the slaves belonging to the estate, and present in their plump and robust appearance, a striking contrast to the *generality of the poor labourers whom they drive !!!*

We fell in with a *party of negro women washing linen* in the opening of a river, near the sea, and a more *disgusting sight* I do not recollect to have ever beheld, &c. *Their bodies were naked, save a bit of blue cloth folded round the loins*, and brought between the legs from behind to fasten before. As they stooped down to dip the linen in the river many of them *exposed* the CROWDED AND CALLOUS SCARS OF REPEATED PUNISHMENT!!!

any *fact*, referred to; the thing is decided on, and they *must* and *will* have it at once!

To attempt to reason with *them* is, therefore, useless; but to men who are *sincere*; to men who are *just*; to men who wish not to be *duped*; to men who wish for the power of England to be preserved, and that of her foes not to be augmented, I might address myself on these topics; namely, whether the abolition would be productive of good to the blacks themselves; whether we have any right to ruin our fellow citizens who have estates in the West Indies; whether, if we abolish slavery, the islands will not fall into the hands of our enemies; and, lastly, whether the schemes of these friends of the blacks have not already *cost this burdened people of England more than seven millions of money*. But, for these matters I have not now room: they must wait *until the week after next*; and, in the meanwhile, let me hope, that you, my friends, will think well and soberly on the subject before you again put your hands to BROUGHAM'S *circular-petitions*. To be a *dupe* is not, perhaps, positively a *crime*: but, between *persevering in error*, when the error is seen; between this and being a hypocrite, the difference is but a shade, and that a very faint shade too. You are now enabled to judge of the credit due to this "ANTI-SLAVERY" combination; it is *at the suggestion of this combination* that you have petitioned on the subject; and, if you still listen to it, still act upon its suggestions, you must not think the world uncharitable if it

ascribe your conduct to something more dishonourable than folly.

WM. COBBETT.

N. B. I shall republish this address directly in a pamphlet, price 6d. But *any body else may do the same without my deeming it unfair*; for, the "*Anti-Slavery*" crew are putting forth their calumnies in all forms and sizes of publications. I have to thank a bookseller in London for sending me *Smith's Letter* and the "*West-India Reporter*," which he was induced to do, I dare say, by seeing my remarks on BROUGHAM and WILBY's last meeting at the Freemason's Tavern. The "*West-India Reporter*," which every body ought to read, is published by Mr. RIDGWAY, Piccadilly, and by Mr. WILSON at the Royal Exchange. Let every one remember, that it is now a *question*, whether the West Indies are to be *lost*, or not.

NEXT WEEK I must notice the proceedings of the "EMIGRATION-SOCIETY," who have combined for the purpose of sending *honest whites* to *Botany Bay*, *Swan-River*, or to the rocks and swamps of *Nova Scotia* and *Canada*. Ah! if we had the *seven millions*, expended out of the taxes to humour the "AMIS DES NOIRS," it might keep, for a while, the poor souls, destined to this species of transportation! When I get back to London, I'm no true man if I do not call a meeting, at the *City of London Tavern*, to form a Society of "*amis des blancs*," or "*friends of the whites*;" and then Master BROUGHAM shall see, that *black* is not "*your only colour*!"

COBBETT'S

TWO-PENNY TRASH;

OR,

POLITICS FOR WORKING PEOPLE,

EXPLAINING

How it is that the People are made Poor.

The first No. (price 2d. of course) will be published on the 1st of July, and one Number will be published on the

1st of every succeeding month. It will be in the *Duodecimo form*; and the twelve Numbers of the year will make a nice little book, to be read by the scholars in the *Lancaster* and *National Schools*. Better far than ALLEN'S tracts!

THE LANCET.

No. 356, published this day, contains:—

THREE LECTURES, delivered at St. Bartholomew's Hospital on Dislocations and Diseases of the Joints.

Two Clinical Lectures delivered at St. Thomas's, June 7 and 14, on the Hospital Cases.

Case of Stone successfully treated by the Lithontritic Process. By Dr. Heurteloup.

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Review of Clarke on Climate.

Typhus Fever.

The late Western Hospital.

"General Practitioners."

Medicinal Use of Tobacco.

Abuses at Hospitals.

London: Published at the Office of THE LANCET, No. 210, Strand.

BELL'S LIFE IN LONDON of Sunday next, the 27th of June, will contain a spirited Full-length Sketch of his Majesty, seated in his pony chaise, as he was seen driving in Windsor Park shortly before his recent indisposition. This Print can be sent, post free, to all parts of the Kingdom, and will form an admirable companion to the Portrait of his Majesty, published in *Bell's Life in London*, on the 6th of June. *Bell's Life in London*, price Seven-pence, containing this Print of the King, will be kept on sale on Monday, the 28th, and Tuesday, the 29th, at the Office, No. 169, Strand, where franks may be had (gratis) to send it to any part of England, Scotland, and Ireland, free of postage. *Bell's Life in London* of Sunday, the 27th of June, will, in addition to the print of the King, contain a second print, "A bird's-eye View of Algiers."

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's court; and published by him, at 183, Fleet-street.

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